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ENGLANDS
SAFETY
IN THE (42)
LAWS
SUPREMACY.



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JOHN A. OY



LONDON:

Printed in the Year 1650.

ENGLANDS Safety,

IN THE

Laws Supremacy.

Being an Humble Advice presented
to the People, Parliament, Army,
in order to a good settlement and
making this a happy and flourishing
Nation.



When a Ship is in imminent and evident danger of Shipwrack, every man engaged in her bottome, or in how small a proportion soever, part-owner, not onely justifiably may, but is much to be blamed if he do not, give the utmost assistance he can towards her preservation.

This being the Case of this Commonwealth apparent not onely from the hopes and expectations of her Enemies, but the feare and Concessions of her Friends, it is high time for every man to look about him, and not to think it sufficient that it is not through his default that she miscarries; but whether it be by reason of the headiness, imprudence, rashness of the Marriners, indiscretion and want of skill in the Pilots, or any other as dangerous over-sights in the Master, he is concerned to suggest the danger, and to offer the best he can towards prevention.

'Tis hard to find out, and peradventure not so safe to mention

all the failings and miscarriages that have reduced us to these exigents; I purpose but favourably to touch upon them, as aiming not at exasperation, but recovering our selves into a better and more hopefull progress towards settlement.

First, then, I crave leave to express something of a generall vice, with which all of all parties are in some measure tainted: it is an Epedemical fault that we all *love our selves too well* to the detriment of others, and though *self-love* be natural, and in its fit bounds and measure allowable; yet is it in its inordinary, and when the eye of affection is bent all inward, condemnable, and the occasion of all the evils that are in the world: and therefore hath Christian Religion so well qualified it, as to make it compatible and coordinate with love of others, and by express precept to enjoyn'd it; yet how contrary is our practice, our great business being not to further an establishment good for all, but to supplant one another: The Kingly party whilst in power, villified, and rendred contemptible, yea very much incapable of any publick employment, and gave all disturbance they could contrive in the enjoyment of propriety, and exercise of private industry, to all such as were not forward to support and plead for Prerogative: the Presbyter has done much the same in stickling for his government: the Independent and Anabaptist are in this point equally guilty, as *Ireland* some late years past can testify insomuch that the quarrell is justly said to be, who shall enjoy Power and Office, and every party hunts after this train, to have the disposall to himself and his relations of all gainfull employments, and publick countenance, to the exclusion and subjection of others; a most unreasonable and much more unchristian fault; this, which eats out all friendship, natural affection, compassion, and plants instead of them, hatred, malice, discontent, rejoycings at one anothers Calamities; let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and conclude with himself, that so much as he has of this unjustifiable *self-love*, by so much he is disabled from truly serving his Country, in this time especially of its extreame exigence, and let him then seriously weigh the following motives and arguments against this general vice, the source of all failings in the management of both publick and private affaires.

The Arguments and Motives against this so general vice are,

1. It frustrates the good end of Law and Government : the reason why people united under Government, was that a few of the more strong and most subtile should not abuse and domineer over the rest, this was to be restrained by agreement to Lawes and equall Government ; if then the Government it self, which was intended as a defence and protection to all shall, be enjoyed by a part, and made use of, not to distribute equall Justice, but to curbe and subject the rest : it is much one, as if the people had no Law nor Government.

2. Who ever is touched with this kinde of *self-love*, hath nothing to say against the justice of his being a slave ; for what measure he would mete unto others, he deserves himself.

3. Whosoever swayed by this *self-love*, runs the indirect paths of State-policy, and makes use of what the support of his Pride and Ambition inforces him too ; is guilty not onely of his own evils, but whatsoever in others are thereby occasioned ; either in those that take part in his tyranny, or in the strugglings of the people sensible of their oppression, and laboring for relief.

4. It is not fit that any man, the current of whose actions are guided by *self-love*, should assume to himself the appellation of Christian : For it is not onely taking that name in-vain, but highly dishonoring it, and the Author thereof our Lord Christ, as if it were consistent with his Precepts ; whereas the badge of his Profession, the practice of Himself and his Disciples, and the basis of all their practical Doctrine, is *self-denial*.

The remedy as to every one personally, is for every one to search his own heart, and to pluck out from thence the whole of this leaven ; for if but a little be left behinde, it will leaven the whole lump.

The remedy as to the publick, is for all to concenter in something that is good for all, that is ; in such a settlement where every man may be as to Law and publick Countenance, in an equal capacity (except by past actions for a time disabled) and alike protected in the enjoyment of propriety and exercise of honest Industry.

A word to the Members of Parliament.

HAVING done with *all*, I come in the next place to you who represent *all*; in whose hands God hath once again placed the opportunity of well settling this Nation. I will not say, how deservedly before displaced, but if you consider how long a time you had to perform Promises, and center in a good Establishment, and how fair the expectations thereof at length grew in all good men, you will not wonder that none of them opened their mouths at your interruption, how illegal soever they understood it to be, nor blame the Justice of God in permitting such a violence.

But you are now replanted; take heed you say not, *My arm hath done this; my wit and contrivance*, and thereupon use this power to the enriching your selves and friends, and keeping others in subjection; and by spreading your interest, entertain a vain hope of perpetuating your Authority. Let the fatal downfall of the King, and his numerous dependents (a dreadful example of Gods vengeance) deter you; or, as a latter instance of Gods detestation of those, however esteemed, prudential designs, his snatching away the late Protector in the height of all his hopes; and when there wanted but the putting out his hand to grasp a Crown, which all the toils and uncessant contrivances of twenty years, had with infinite turmoil to himself and others, labored for: Observe Gods dislike thereof in the last change, after all the fine arts that had been used in procuring Addresses, that seemed to import a general liking and assent, and all the pompous ways contrived to adde esteem and lustre to the idol of a single person; yet see how suddenly all vanished, as if the Almighty had determined, that nothing should take root, or be permanent in this Nation where so much profession hath been, and so many appeals made, but what is grounded upon equal Justice, and the stability of impartial Laws.

It is therefore kicking against the pricks to attempt further, or to think that any person or party can establish it self upon the narrow interest of a few: And therefore if any amongst you

you have any such rising thoughts, be pleased in the most serious time of your retirement, to weigh well these following considerations

First, That the mysteries of *Machiavels* art have been too far discovered to be of much use in this Nation for the future: The cloak of formal godliness, which the *Florentine* would have Politicians wear without the substantial lining, as being too cumbersome, is now worn thred-bare; and almost every man sees it to be but a cloak; experience and often being deceived, hath made almost every body able to look upon, not the colours and pretext, but the depth and secret motive of every design: So that men talk upon the *Exchange*, and in common conferences, what is in the Cabinet, and all the fine devices appear now to be but like Flock-work upon Canvas, scattered over with glistering Copper or Tinsel: And therefore hereafter, the more manly and substantial way of plain and just dealing, is like to thrive best.

Secondly, Weigh well the improbability of effecting and going through with such a design, in regard of enemies and difficulties: What they are like to be abroad, cannot be ascertained, but unless you settle well upon good foundations, contentful to the people, they are like to be very numerous. *Charles Stuart* and his Friends are watchful and hopeful of an opportunity, which cannot but offer it self, unless the people taste the sweets of a good Government. The Presbyterian's discontented, your best friends justly jealous, that you will rather relie upon the broken Reed of some prudential contrivance, then the retrieval of the antient Government and good Laws of *England*, cleared from Prerogative usurpations, and whatsoever for indirect ends hath been innovated upon them. If you center in any thing less, you stop all your friends mouths; the objections of your and our Adversaries, will be too hard for us; you weaken our hands, and droop our hearts: So that if any trouble should offer it self from abroad or at home, with what courage can it be expected we should oppose it; when if victors, our case will be little better then if overcome: Whereas on the contrary, the good Government of *England* being by you established according to the exact Rules of a Commonwealth (the *Maximes* of Monarchy y

Monarchy having been in several Kings Reigns, by force or fraud obtruded upon it, and therefore justly to be expunged) you may assuredly expect, and will certainly finde an unanimous complacency in the people, their heats and animosities from difference in opinion gradually decaying, all sorts of them, yea, even your Adversaries will from the contentful sweetness thereof, soon judge it better to acquiesce, and sit still under such an establishment, then to run the hazard of any change: Your Neighbors abroad will seek your peace and friendship, and then you will have all the opportunities of advancing Trade, and making easie the publick charge; and after you have well settled successive Parliaments with a fixt day for their Conventions, and secured the peace of the Nation, you may return with joy and lasting honor to your habitations, beloved of all good men.

Whereas thirdly, if you should propose preheminance to your selves, and retention of power, you know not to how many evils you would in time be necessitated: For in this course of policy. *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*, you would every day grow worse and worse, one irregularity necessitating another, until at last no evil would be blenched at: You would then be forced to check the people's freedom of speaking and writing; to discountenance all good men that stand for the Law and their antient Government; to straiten by degrees Liberty of Conscience, be necessitated to use Guards, and erect high Courts of Justice; to employ and encourage Informers, Intelligencers, Pursuivants, Gaolers, Flatterers, and all kinde of Projectors that can furnish with any ginn or snare for the people: All corrupt interests you must side with, and support; practise dissimulation, called in a more courtly phrase, The art of obliging; tire and wear out your selves with never failing and anxious business, attended with a thousand fears, doubts, dangers, difficulties; and in conclusion, if you should prosper in such practices, you would but leave your posterities partakers of the bondage you entail upon the people, or engaged in the laborious task of holding up the Tyranny.

If then looking upon the dispensations of Justice, God hath in late years afforded, and weighing the force of these Arguments,

ments, and such other as your own hearts can suggest to your selves; you do resolve upon the safer and better way, that is, to settle the Government according to the antient Laws and free Customs of *England*, freed from the entanglements of Kingly and Lordly power: It will be requisite that you give time, and make diligent search, what the antient and fundamental Government of *England* is; for it were strange to suppose, as divers men have suggested, that we have no such Government or Laws: that were the greatest imputation upon your honor that could be, that a war should be by you commenced for preserving and vindicating the Fundamental Laws, and divers persons of highest quality executed as Traytors for subverting the Fundamental Laws, if no such Laws be, and the discourse of them but chimerical: it is rather to be supposed, that those persons who so suggest, have either not taken pains, nor used honest diligence to finde them out; or are thought full of erecting an interest against those good and equal Laws; and therefore be either you, nor any good men, discouraged in his endeavors of finding them out.

It is true indeed, it is not like to be an easie task, because the Monarchical interest from its first forcing it self upon our Ancestors could not but design their obscuring, embezzlement, and subversion; which sometimes it did openly *vi & armis*, sometimes more clandestinely and fraudently, insomuch, that no Prince, but more or less, attempted it, and entertained as their fittest and ablest Counsellors, such as had most ability for such a work, two whereof besides the late King, were deposed from their Regal Dignities for subverting or embezzling them, namely, *Edward* the Fourth, *Richard* the Second. So that after the so many hundred years diligence of such persons as were every way furnished both with power and all circumstantial helps, to extirpate the best of our Laws, and the wholesomest part of our Government: It is a wonder that any of it should remain, and not be swallowed up in the Monarchical gulf of Prerogative, but that every age hath produced some able and active men, who have by constant claim and sometimes open contest with Princes, kept alive the knowledge of many of our good Laws, and the particulars of our Government: And therefore you have good

encouragement for further search; in doing whereof, be pleased to cast an eye upon these following considerations.

First, Inasmuch as you have already cleared the Government from the Dominion of a single Person, and the Pillars of Monarchy a House of Lords; in evincing the antient Laws, it is but consonant to what you have already done, to clear them from all branches of Usurpation, induced at any time or times by that interest, in order to its sustentation; for why should the tail be left, when the Dragon is taken away? And this is to be hoped you will do, because in your Answer to the *Buckinghamshire* Petition, you say you will endeavor to settle a Commonwealth as well in Nature as in Name. A Commonwealth then being a Government directly opposite to Monarchy; this being the Off-spring of force, obtruded at first upon the people, with which they are through the continuance of time, pleased as a Bird with her Cage, because she hath forgot the sweetness of her liberty and open air, and scarce knows how to live abroad, long used to her bondage; the other natural and where enjoyed infinitely contentful. The Monarchy an interest within and distinct from the peoples, where the Prince and his dependents may be rich, and the people poor, and in necessity: The other an interest of the peoples, where the Law-makers and supreme Authority, partake of the good or evil of their own Ordinances; and therefore are concerned to be gentle in all taxes and publick impositions, since they themselves must bear their proportion. Since then the Governments are thus distinct, and that you have exploded the Monarchical, you are to retain no Law as connatural with the Government, but what is agreeable and fully consistent with a free Commonwealth; which is the only just and natural Government in the World; since as the people are the original of all just power (according to what you have declared) so are they no longer themselves, and free, unless they retain that power in their own hands, or transfer it for a short time by way of deputation or trust to some of themselves chosen by themselves, for the conservation of peace, and their Laws. And therefore be pleased to annul all those Laws, and other props and branches of Monarchy, that no hopes may be left to reverse it again, but the mindes of the people quieted.

quieted in the permanent establishment of a free Commonwealth.

Secondly, In finding out the Original Laws, be pleased to cast your eye upon this Rule: That no Law be esteemed such, but what is of a large and diffusive extent, good for all, and at all times good, inasmuch as our dividing into parties hath been but in some of the last Centuries, a matter the Antient Law takes no cognisance of, that being one to all, inflexible and inexorable, regarding no man, no quality of men, no sect, no opinion, but enjoyning universal obedience for common peace and safety, and providing that one injure not another, dispensing upon default equal punishment: So that the way of reconciliation and uniting the spirits of the divided people, is to let them see that they are alike in respect of the Law, but as they become guilty upon the breach of any part of it. It being one of the arts of Monarchy, according to one of its Maximes, *Divide and Raign*, to give greater countenance to one or two sorts or sects of men, then to the rest, that so by the assistance of some, the whole may be kept in subjection. But in a free Commonwealth, there is neither Flatterer nor Favorite, the Law bears Rule, and all are alike dear to it. If then you shall expunge all Laws of a narrow and contracted aspect, your building will be lasting as not standing upon a point, but grounded upon the basis of the People, every man being concerned with heart and hand to maintain that Government which gives him protection and equal respect.

Let me subjoin this therefore as an humble caution, That it is a short and low consideration to think to satisfy the people with giving them only Liberty of Conscience: the whole is their right, and freedom in matters of religion is but a branch thereof, which is therefore not to be owned or accepted as a favour or indulgence to some persons, but the due right of all; not granted in policy to oblige a party, but published as a particular not submitted to trust; no man in Religion being a capable Judge for another, since every man must be fully perswaded of the verity of the way wherein he serves the Lord, The business of the Magistrate in this particular being to conserve the Peace, and to see that no man offers injury or violence to another, or

upon pretence of his liberty disturbs the tranquility of the publick, or intrrenches upon any mans propriety: let not therefore liberty of conscience be used as a sweet bait or morsell to some dissenting men, thinking by that means to stop their mouths, and with the addition of an office make them serve you in restraining other rights and freedoms, or establishing any other Power or interest then that forementioned; but doe all things with that freedom of mind, as becomes members of a Commonwealth. There is not to the soule of man, any thing more pleasing and permanently contentfull, then to discharge all duties with an upright and sincere heart, it leaves behind it a name sweeter then pretious Odours, and establishes a family beyond the favor of Kings, or success of battails.

Thus precautioned, you will be the better fitted to make search what the most antient government of *England* is; for your furtherance wherein I have taken the boldness to suggest unto you an essay at a modell thereof, cleared from regall and lordly usurpations, with the additions of some circumstances that makes it more practical at this time, and answering all occasions that the present condition of affairs requires, which in most humble manner presented, will at least give some light to your future disquisitions.

1. **T**hat a Parliament be called once every year by writs in course to be issued out upon a fixed day, and that the day also of their convention be ascertain'd, that they adjourne from time to time as they see cause, not dissolving untill at the years end in course they give place to the succeeding Parliament.

2. That it consist only of the representatives of the people annually-chosen, without a house of Lords, the superintendency or coordination of any person or persons whomsoever.

3. That the Power of the Militia, the Power of making Peace or Warr, the raising of Money, and disposing the same, be solely in the Parliament, and such as by them deputed shall be accountable to them.

4. That the power of making occasional laws be solely in them.

them, reserving to the people untoucht and inviolable their fundamental laws, according to indenture at elections.

5. That a Council of Safety be annually chosen by the Parliament out of themselves, consisting of one and twenty persons, accountable to Parliament : that they receive Commissions and instructions from Parliament, with the particulars of their trust ; that so all matters though provided for by law, may not be brought as formerly to the Council board, to the awe and debasing of the spirits of the people ; that they have a yearly allowance suitable to the dignity of the Nation.

6. That all the great and publick Officers, as well Civil as Military, be chosen by the Parliament, and continued but for one year.

7. That the Members of Parliament do take their provision allowed by the Law, and that during the time of their Membership, they neither directly nor indirectly (as being Members) enrich themselves, or dispose to one another the publick offices.

Laws including the Peoples Liberties.

I.

THat no man be adjudged of Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate, but upon presentment by the unanimous judgment or verdict of twelve sworn men of the Neighborhood, grounded upon the testimony of faithful witnesses.

II.

That every person at the time of Tryal, in all Cases, have liberty of challenge or exception against his Tryers, or Jurors, as by right to the number of Thirty and six, without shewing cause ; and of as many more as he shall shew cause for.

III.

That no man be amerced, fined, or otherwise punished, but in an equal manner proportionable to the offence ; and none of the ameracements, fines, or punishments, be imposed but upon Oath of good men of the Neighborhood.

IV: That

IV.

That no man be imprisoned in any place, but whereunto there belongeth Goal-delivery, and not to be continued beyond the second Goal-delivery : That every prisoner be furnished with food and other necessaries during his continuance there : That the Goaler have no Fee but Four pence of the Prisoner at his acquitment : That Bail be not refused, if the person beailable.

V.

That no man be imprisoned for Debt, but that all Estates real and personal be liable for discharge of debts : That the Laws be revised concerning double Sales, fraudulent Concealments, and whatsoever indirect practise may arise upon the aforesaid Law, that so by severe penalties they may be prevented.

VI.

That no man be put to his Law, nor to an Oath, upon anyones bare saying, but upon the Oath of credible witnesses for the same,

VII.

That all Officers be annually chosen by the people, amongst whom the office or jurisdiction is to be administred, as well Sheriffs and Justices, as all other inferior Officers ; likewise all Officers of Assizes and Courts of Justice ; and also all Officers of the Trained Bands.

VIII.

That no man be compelled in matters of Opinion or Religion, but left free to observe the publick established Religion, or what other may seem in his Conscience to be more agreeable to the Word of God ; and answerable to the Law onely for injuries between party and party, or for crimes against the Commonwealth.

IX.

That no moneys be raised upon the people, but by their consents in their great Council (the more antient appellation of the Assembly of their Deputies, then Parliament ;) and that it be done by the good old way of Subsidies, which is both the most equal way, and of least charge in collecting.

X. That

X.

That considering the people are grown much more numerous then heretofore, and that places have been made capable of chusing Parliament-men according to the interest or concernment of Princes, whence hath arisen a very great inequality in the distribution: It is thereupon necessary, that a new division be made in each County, that so there may be a more equal and perfect Representation of the people in their Great Council.

XI.

That the people in each County divided into Hundreds and Tythings, may be disposed into Bands of Horse and Foot, according to the different quality of the inhabitants; and that they may be at set times trained and disciplined for War, under Officers and Commanders chosen by themselves; that so the whole Nation may be ready to appear in a few hours in arms; for defence of their Laws, and whatsoever is dear to them, against any enemies from abroad, or insurrection at home.

This Model is humbly presented to the consideration of all the good people of *England*, especially to the Members of Parliament; in drawing up whereof all particular interest is disavowed, no way of *Union* (that necessary means of safety) being possible, but by the concentration of all parties in something that is good for all, and hurtful to none; and as such, this is presented.

As every man is free to deliberate upon them, so is it humbly desired, That no man will suffer that freedom to be taken from him, by the inordinacy of any passion, by his engagement to any interest narrower then the publick; by the potent witchcrafts captivating, in common repute, the wisest, the love of Honor or Preeminence, and Profit: But rather let these few considerations take place in your hearts, and then a universal assent is not to be despaired.

1. **T**HAT it is better for any man to leave his Children guarded in their estates or labors by the Laws of their Country, then (though rich, and in the favor of a ruling party) li-

able

able to the slippery changes, that must ever attend those structures that are not built upon the sure basis of standing Laws. This is a truth, That no man who is not blinded by being indirectly engaged but will give his ready assent to.

2. The Laws presented, are all of them, except in some circumstances, the most antient and radical Laws of this Nation.

3. They are conceived to be good for all, and in all times good; all parties are secured and supported by them; all persons intrusted, are so fairly and reasonably limited by them, as to prevent the employing their power to the prejudice of any particular, or of the publick; as when occasion of further debate thereupon is offered, shall be endeavored to be cleared.

4. It is humbly conceived, that such an establishment will recompence all the miseries of the late War, as being hopeful, not onely to invest the people of this Nation with the present possession of their Laws, and just Liberties, but secure them for the future against all violences and usurpations whatsoever. The Model presented, does not probably comprehend the whole of what is the peoples right, and necessary for their security, but is intended as an occasion and ground work of your Debates, who have the command of all helps, a view of all Laws and Records, and so the advantage of making a further discovery of many of our Rights and Customs, conducing much to the better establishment and security of the Government.

It is in the last place offered, That when the Laws and Liberties of the people are evinced and ascertained by your selves in Parliament, That a Model thereof fairly Printed be affixed in every Church, Hall, place of Assize, Market place, or where there is any usual Convention of people; and that at Assizes they be publickly read once every quarter, or oftner as shall seem good: That so the people bred up in the knowledge thereof, may be sensible when any violation or intrenchment is offered thereunto. And for their further security it is likewise tendered, That after election of any persons to serve in Parliament,

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in the audience of each person so chosen, and of all the people, the Laws be solemnly read by a publick Officer thereunto appointed; and an Oath taken of the person elected to preserve the same.

Be serious in the consideration of these particulars, and upon liking, give what promotion you can towards their settlement.

When the Law is supream, every man is safe and a freeman.

Having thus given my mite of humble Advice in order to a good settlement, let me without offence, and in as humble manner present a few considerations referring to several sorts of men and things that may make the easier way, and prepare all parties for the better admission and establishment of the Government.

First, As to the Officers of the Army, and others ingaged in many irregular and unwarrantable actions, since your interruption in 1653 Whether in order to peace, and the easier admission of what you intend, it be not best to pass over, and wholly forgive by an Act of Amnestie, whatsoever in that time hath been transacted; considering withal the many temptations that were offered, and that during your former Session you had not established the Government; especially in case a plenal and perfect submission and obedience be hereafter rendred to your just Authority.

Secondly, That you propose some way of encouragement to the inferior Officers and common Soldiers, not onely as to the discharge of Arrears, and constancy of pay, but also some privileges upon disbanding, that may bring them into the condition of Free-Commoners, and settle them in a constant way of livelihood, either here, in *Ireland*, or in *Scotland*; that so they may look upon themselves, not as mercenary hirelings, but as Members of the Commonwealth, and propose to spend the remainder of their days, as other good men of *England*, in some vocation. These things will make them unanimous in standing by, and protecting the Parliament during the settlement.

Thirdly, In reference to the Prerogative party; although heretofore you have been necessitated to shew a severe hand towards them, they being the Principals in the War against you,

and who would, it is to be feared, have been much more severe towards you and your adherents, in case they had prevailed; yet since they are Members of this Commonwealth, Fellow natives and Christians with us, and had many temptations to sway them to that party, besides the specious countenance of minorated Laws, and the impulsions of education; it is humbly offered, Whether it be not best for the future, to let them see a willingness in you, to receive them to favor and publick countenance, so far as may stand with the safety of the Government: And although some restrictions are of necessity to be laid upon them, because of their aptness to revolt, and readiness to assist the interest of the *Stuarts*, and reverse the Monarchy; yet that those restrictions be but temporary, and taken off as soon as they shall give some signal testimonies of their reclainer, and approbation of the Democratical Government, without a King or House of Lords. You may be pleased to consider, that there hath not much been done hitherto to reform and rectifie their understandings and many things, rather to confirm them in the equity of their own cause, especially in late actions: But when they shall see the excellency of a Commonwealth, in the establishment of the good antient Laws freed from those powers and intanglements that rendred them useless, when they shall finde every man protected by them in his life, limb, liberty, estate, and no man by vertue of his authority extending his power to anothers prejudice, but at his own peril, in case he exceeds the expresse limits and bounds thereof; when every man under their tutelage shall enjoy the fruits of his Fathers labor, or his own industry, without the numerous ways of Court-arts, to molest and impoverish him. When those of that party shall see this blessed time, it is not to be doubted, but they will soon throw off their expectations from abroad, and blame themselves for giving any stop or impediment to so blessed a Reformation.

As to the Ministry, and that form of Church-Government the Parliament shall think fit to commend to publick observation, it is offered: Whether it be not the better way, that the persons officiating therein, be paid out of the publick Treasury, more or less, according to the number of their charge, with
certainty

certainly of a competent allowance to their Widows and Children, that so they may be obliged to maintain the Government established, and having no dependance upon the benevolence of the people, be more free to acquaint them with their faults, and avoiding all Polemical Controversies, and drawing them into factions to maintain their several Forms and Tenets, employ their abilities chiefly in furnishing every mans minde with the true knowledge and practice of all Christian precepts and duties, shewing the general disparity of almost all mens conversations thereunto.

Lastly, As to Trade, you cannot but see at how low an ebb it is at the present, to the extream discouragement, and almost heart breaking of the Merchant, Tradesman, and all other industrious manufactures and occupations depending thereupon. It is therefore one of your principal works to set all the Wheels thereof going, both for the revival of those that live upon it, and for the increase of the publick Treasury. As for the means how it may in the best manner, and most contentful to the people be accomplished, it requires a large discourse, which happily in a short time you will be furnished withal; in the mean time it is best consulting Merchants and Seamen of most fame for honesty, ability, and publick-heartedness, who can give you an account of the state of our several Trades abroad; what clogs and burdens lie upon it; what expedients are left for remedy thereof. Expect not their Addresses, but invite them to you, entertain them with candor, and purpose of speedy redress. Hear also, what others can say as to Trade within Drapers, Mercers, Clothiers, and bear an equal hand towards all.

Esteem the certain interest of this Nation to be the increase of Trade, and the best Maxime of a Parliament to enrich the people, by encouraging all their labors and industry, advancing home-made Commodities, and providing a free course and vent for all manufactures; whereas a single person keeps the people poor and necessitated, that they may be fitted for Soldiers and Plantations, regardless of their penury, anxieties and blood; and proposes by numerous Pipes and Conveyances to drain the wealth of the Nation into the Exchequer; a Commonwealth on

the contrary, is to aim at enriching the people, knowing the publick occasions can never want succor, as long as they abound.

Let me add two things more, and I shall crave your pardon for all this trouble:

1. IN the disposal of publick Offices, as it hath been the practice of Monarchy, depending upon Faction (that is, upon a part of the people moulded to support that interest) to dispencc its favors and publick employments onely to such as would flatter, and obey whatsoever should be commanded: So will it on the contrary, become you rather to seek out those who are most deserving, of most approved integrity, who are said in Scripture phrase *To fear God*, (for then they will do nothing unworthily, since they know God abhors all that is evil) and *hate covetousness*, the root indeed of all unjust actions. Beware of dispensing these by favor, and to relations, because such, however undeserving: For besides that it will much blemish your proceedings, it will also weaken the publick interest, and by degrees induce many corruptions in the Government. Seek out therefore men able; the most vertuous are the most modest, and least apt to hunt and canvas for employment: Prefer not a Sycophant before a faithful Minister; a man pufft up with undeserved favor, before him that seeketh to purchase Grace by desert; an idle drone before a painful Officer.

2. There is a vice that has almost eaten out all integrity and truth of heart amongst men, which in latter years has been sown and sprung up abundantly in this Nation, Hypocrisie. I mean, double dealing concealment of the minde, aptness to betray; whereby faith is almost extinguished, and every man is become afraid of his neighbour: It lies in you to rectifie this, and it is an honorable undertaking; it must be done by plainness and integrity in your selves, according to whose examples all will square their actions, and by countenancing it in others. Let your reputation abroad arise from your reall strength at home, from the union of the People by the means forementioned, endeavored. Be known by your punctual and just dealing, and scorne the base and unmanly arts of courtly obligings and regal

regal dissimulations. Then will Honesty and Truth come again in fashion amongst us ; and as well in publick as private affairs, no man will keep credit, but he that to the utmost of his power keeps his word and faith.

A word to the Officers of the Army.

THough the peoples fears are much upon you, as judging that you intend forcibly to transferre the power upon some of your selves, or return it upon the late Protector, if by no waies you can make the Parliament serve your purposes : yet cannot. I give a ready credit to these distrusts, since I cannot think you should so blemish and render fruitless all your memorable actions and valiant exploits performed in the late warrs ; muchless blot out and deface those glorious expressions in your former Declarations, asserting your care and tenderness of the Fundamental Laws.

The Parliament is now settling the Government of this Nation, and have made by your assistance a good beginning, by freeing it from the arbitrariness of Kingly and Lordly power, they have also promised they will make this a reall Commonwealth, as well in nature as in name : that is, as I humbly conceive, where the Law shall be uppermost, and every man intrusted with the execution of any part thereof, or with any office or publick employment, shall be so bounded with expresse rules and instructions, and be so certainly accountable for the discharge thereof, as that no man shall have power to abuse that share of Authority is committed to his management. How blessed a providence will it be to this Nation, and particularly to your selves, to stand by them, encourage and protect them in so good a work ! Now is the time, the criticall time, when either we shall by centring upon good and stable foundations, become the happiest people in the world, for true freedom, righteous laws, security, wealth, (assured concomitants one of the other) or the most miserable by being liable upon an unsatisfactory settlement, to future and unavoidable alterations, which in all probability will end in the reduction of that Tyranny your valors are yet famous for exterminating.

And. 1

And therefore you are most humbly implored by whatsoever is dear to you, your country, your posterities, the peace of your consciences, as you prize the favor of the Almighty Lord of Hosts, and the universal love of all good men, employ your strength (as of right you ought to doe) in their protection that rais'd you, and first engag'd you in the righteous cause. Let not that cause that God hath so signally blest, become reproachfull, and a burden to the Nation, but evince it, stand by it, see it established, and then sit down & enjoy the fruits thereof; distinguish not your security from that of other mens, all irregularities in this interval of settlement may be past over; you will deserve not only indemnity but the highest esteem, if when you might hinder, you assist, and keep all other sorts of persons and parties from disturbing the Parliament in the establishment of the government. If therefore you have entertained any other purpose, give timely check to it, and stop before it be too late; be one with the people, and leave the estates you have by many hazards purchas'd, leave them to your children guarded by the protection of Law, and not liable to the humerous discretion of a single person, or an arbitrary Senate, which is much the same tyranny.

Answer all the scruples and objections of other men, by apparent actions of union with the Parliament, which will more then any other thing take off the hopes of all enemies secret, or open, at home or abroad.

F I N I S.



